LETTER

TO

EARL FITZWILLIAM,

ON HIS

SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF PEERS,

ON FRIDAY APRIL 24;

ON THAT OF

LORD MILTON

THE SAME DAY;

AND ON

Mr. GRATTAN's MOTION,

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS OF IRELAND,

ON THE 21ST OF APRIL.

WITH

A POSTSCRIPT,

ON

THE EARL OF CARLISLE's LETTER.

BY A MEMBER OF THE WHIG CLUB.

"It would better become Parliament to pledge themſelves, with life and "fortune, to ſupport our happy eſtabliſhment, in *all its parts*, than to *waſte* "their time in an *enquiry*, why *one* VICEROY was recalled, and *another ſent to* "*ſucceed* him!"

Mr. CUFFE's *Speech in the Iriſh Parliament on the 21ſt April.*

LONDON:

TO BE HAD OF MESSRS. BALDWIN, PATERNOSTER-ROW; DOWNES, STRAND; AND MILLER, BOND-STREET.

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LETTER, &c.

MY LORD,

YOUR amiable qualities in private life have long been the theme of every tongue. But though all ſtateſmen ſhould poſſeſs integrity, yet integrity alone will by no means form a ſtateſman. And it is very unfortunate for your Lordſhip, that this is verified in yourſelf. With the beſt diſpoſition in the world to ſerve the ſtate, it now appears that you are deficient in all the great requiſites that are indiſpenſible in a leading political character. From the ſpecimen we have had of your Viceroyal reign, amidſt the glare of your philanthropy, we look in vain for prudence, for judgment, for wiſdom, for magnanimity, or any ſort of policy that was either dignified or juſt. We did not wiſh or expect to ſee you a political Lord Peter, encumbering the throne, and overburthening the kingdom with the odious trappings of tyrannical prerogatives. Every one of your friends, on the contrary, were ſanguine with the generous idea of your diſplaying the mild and equitable ſpirit of Martin, by ſteering clear of all extremes. But how much were men of every party

ſtruck with amazement, when they beheld you, with all the reforming mania of Jack Calvin, tearing to pieces almoſt every veſtige of the conſtitution, in order to effect its melioration!

It is not my buſineſs here to enter into the blunders of your Iriſh adminiſtration. It is enough to obſerve that your conduct in that kingdom, was more like an abſolute, capricious Sovereign, than the viceroy of a limited monarch.

You were raſhly, wantonly, and even childiſhly, unhinging, and overturning every thing; as a young inconſiderate heir ſerves his eſtate, when he comes into poſſeſſion, without conſidering that you were but the *ſteward*, and not the *owner*. You treated the kingdom of Ireland, as you would your eſtates in Wicklow, Yorkſhire, or Nottinghamſhire; ſweeping off every tenant, and altering every cuſtom, according to your whim. As the lord of the ſoil, all this you certainly have an undoubted right to perform. But, my Lord, what would you ſay to any of your ſtewards or bailiffs, whom you intruſt with improving your manors; if, becauſe cloathed with your authority, they aſſumed all your rights to endanger your poſſeſſions, by becoming the inveterate partizans of village politics; and ruining ſome to pleaſe others, when it was in their power, to afford

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a proper ſatisfaction to all, as had been done by their predeceſſors.

This, my Lord, with the beſt of hearts, you would moſt aſſuredly have effected, had you not been ſo very properly recalled. Inſtead of being the dignified, cool, diſpaſſionate, wary, and wiſe repreſentative of your worthy Sovereign, ſent to temper the iraſcibility of Iriſh party, and be of real ſervice to both countries, you deſcended to be one of their moſt fiery partizans, or rather the vice-royal tool of Meſſrs. Grattan and Ponſonby!—Like Nell, in the Devil to pay, you ſaid to thoſe gentlemen, your coachman and butler—," Juſt as " you pleaſe, Mr. Coachman,—juſt as you pleaſe, " Mr. Butler." And, while the one drove you as he pleaſed, they drove out whom they pleaſed, and did what they pleaſed, both at the Caſtle, and throughout the whole kingdom!

Although in all this pliability, there was no groſs turpitude, yet there was a lamentable want of true policy; in ſuffering yourſelf to be thus in the leading ſtrings of a few men, to violate your nature, and the true intereſts of the country. Now, was it poſſible, even in this age of infidelity, to preſerve the proteſtant conſtitution in Ireland, if more than three-fourths of the houſes of parliament there, were

to be compoſed of catholics? How could you protect the citizens of Dublin, where robberies, and even murders uſed to happen every week, if you had deſtroyed the police conſtitution? A watch may do in London, but nothing except the moſt ſtrict and vigilant police eſtabliſhment, will ever guard the city of Dublin. All pariſh plans are utterly abſurd there, becauſe totally inefficient. How was your Lordſhip to check the Jacobin reformers?—By repealing the Convention act, which has ſo effectually ſtifled all their machinations! In what, indeed, was your Lordſhip, and your council employed, the few weeks you were in that kingdom? Not in inviting mild meaſures to conciliate, or deciſive ones to overawe ſedition:—not in ſtrengthening the ſprings of government, but in weakening them all, by capriciouſly taking to pieces almoſt the whole conſtitutional machine of Ireland, that in place of its preſent admirable, though antiquated mode of conſtruction, ſo finely capped and jewelled, you might furniſh it with a few of Mr. Grattan's jarring wheels, and his very brittle catholic mainſpring; which would impede, if not totally deſtroy, all its beſt conſtitutional movements.

I would not have troubled your Lordſhip or the public with this letter, were it not for your very ſtrange ſpeech in the Houſe of Peers, on Friday laſt,

laſt, and that correſponding one of lord Milton, on the ſame day, in the Houſe of Commons. Beſides thoſe of Meſſrs. Grattan and Ponſonby, on the 21ſt Inſtant, in the Iriſh Parliament. You firſt libelled miniſters in your two extraordinary letters, and then you accuſe them of libelling you; when they only vindicated themſelves from the parliamentary aſperſions of the Earl of Guildford in one houſe, and Mr. Fox in the other, on the motions for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation.

Let us examine what miniſters then ſaid. Lord Grenville was of opinion, " That any public diſcuſſion " at the preſent moment, reſpecting Ireland, would " only tend to increaſe thoſe irritations (alluded to " by lord Guildford) in a tenfold degree; and there- " fore he would refrain from going further into the " ſubject *than it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to do*, " in juſtification of *himſelf and thoſe with whom he acted*, " and in this *reſpect he was very happy; it was a ſource* " *of the pureſt conſolation to him to reflect, and boldly* " *to ſay, that whatever irritations prevailed—whatever* " *meaſures had been adopted and purſued on the other* " *ſide of the water, which may have cauſed agitations* " *in the minds of the people there——whatever miſchie-* " *vous or injurious conſequences may at preſent or hereafter* " *reſult from the meaſures which had been purſued there*, " *he was certain and convinced, that* whenever the mat-

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" ter came to be fully and fairly inveſtigated, IT " WOULD BE FOUND THAT NO PART OR SHARE WHAT- " EVER OF THE BLAME conſequent on the miſchievous " CONSEQUENCES, IF ANY SUCH SHOULD BE FOUND TO " HAVE HAPPENED, CAN, BY ANY MEANS, IN THE " SLIGHTEST DEGREE, ATTACH UPON THE ADMINI- " STRATION OF THIS COUNTRY.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, in anſwer to Mr. Fox, " That what the Right Honorable Gentleman had reſted upon as a " ſeparate and ſubſtantive ground of enquiry, was the " ſtate of politics in the ſiſter kingdom. That par- " ticular criſis, which the Right Honorable Gentle- " man had urged, as affording an irreſiſtible ground " for enquiry, he would contend, operated as the " ſtrongeſt and moſt deciſive objection to any ſuch " enquiry being inſtituted. It was a matter of ex- " treme delicacy, how an Engliſh Houſe of Commons " ſhould take up the diſcuſſion which properly be- " longed to an independent legiſlature. In the peculiar " circumſtances in which he ſtood, he was ſenſible how " neceſſary it was for him to be extremely cautious " on the preſent occaſion. He would not deny, " that in what had happened, there was much which " he had to regret; but he would venture boldly " to ſtate for himſelf and his colleagues, that what- " ever turn the Iriſh diſcontents might take, *that* " *their cauſes would not ariſe from the want of atten-* " *tion,*

" *tion, or conſiſtency in his majeſty's miniſters.* What-
" ever hopes were held out to the people of Ire-
" land which had cauſed the preſent diſcontents,
" in juſtice to himſelf and colleagues, he felt himſelf
" called upon to declare, *that they would not be*
" *found to* ORIGINATE *with his Majeſty's ſervants in*
" *this country.* He would not now enter into the
" queſtion; whether any blame attached to the
" reſpectable nobleman, at the head of that govern-
" ment. He had only thought neceſſary to make
" that aſſertion, in juſtice to himſelf, and thoſe
" with whom he had the honour to act; and *which he*
" *would defy, at any future period, to be diſproved.*
" The great queſtion was, what advantage would ariſe
" from the inveſtigation propoſed by the Right Hon.
" Gentleman? He did not ſee what advantage could
" reſult from any diſcuſſion upon this buſineſs. For
" what beneficial purpoſes could it be undertaken,
" or how was it to be conducted? He ſhould rather
" think that, in the moment of irritation, the legiſla-
" ture of that kingdom was moſt competent to diſcuſs
" and to decide upon any differences which may tend
" to diſturb the repoſe of Ireland: and that it would
" be preſumption in us at ſuch a period, to determine
" for, or dictate to the Iriſh. The motion was, there-
" fore, in this point of view, highly reprehenſible. It
" was not calculated to prevent or diminiſh the evil. It
" was calculated to produce much miſchief, and rather

" to increaſe than allay the diſcontents. The diſcuſ-
" ſion of thoſe principles of Catholic emancipation,
" could by no means come under the view of the Par-
" liament of Great Britain. Such a diſcuſſion muſt
" only and ultimately be decided by the Legiſlature
" of Ireland. It was for this reaſon that he would
" carefully avoid that diſcuſſion; at the ſame time ob-
" ſerving, *that no* PROMISE *had ever been* HELD OUT *to*
" *the people of Ireland, by the preſent adminiſtration of this*
" *country*, THAT HAD AFTERWARDS BEEN WITHHELD
" FROM THEM. If it was the Right Hon. Gentleman's
" wiſh, therefore, to allay the ſpirit of irritation which
" had lately been engendered, and to avert the miſ-
" chievous conſequences with which it might be at-
" tended, unfortunately his motion was calculated to
" increaſe the ferment, and to aggravate, if not to pro-
" duce the danger."

In both theſe ſpeeches, my Lord, I can perceive nothing aſſerted or inſinuated, by miniſters, but what was candid, honourable, and proper. They did not beſpatter you, as you very unhandſomely beſpattered them, in your peeviſh epiſtolary philippics. They only exonerated themſelves from the malevolent ſhafts of private ſlander, when brought forward in Parliament by thoſe who lately traduced your Lordſhip, as much as they have done the other branches of adminiſtration. Lord Grenville only declares, " that it affords

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" the pureſt conſolation to himſelf, to reflect that " no ſhare whatever of the blame can, in the " ſlighteſt degree, be found to attach upon admini- " ſtration."

Mr Pitt, too, boldly declares, " that the Iriſh diſcon- " tents would not be found to *originate* with his Majeſ- " ty's ſervants in this country." Nothing unhandſome againſt your Lordſhip is to be diſcovered in the above language of miniſters. While you, my Lord, boaſt " of having the *glory* of being *objectionable* to Mr. Pitt," which, if true, can only ariſe from your late public conduct; that gentleman ſpoke of you in the Houſe of Commons, as the " *reſpectable* nobleman at " the head of the Iriſh Government." We no where find the leaſt traces of any perſons in adminiſtration, malignantly traducing your character, although your Lordſhip diſplays in your letters, a moſt intemperate iraſcibility, and an unbecoming degree of perſonal invective. It reluctantly muſt put every one of your well-wiſhers in mind of Shakeſpeare's ſpeech, that he has given to Cardinal Wolſey—" *I bluſh to ſee a nobleman want manners!*" And although they reflect, that ſuch letters had your Lordſhip's ſanction in the irritable moment of diſappointment, and *fallen greatneſs*, they can by no means impute them to your ſoft and delicate pen. The natural ſweetneſs of your temper, my Lord, could only permit you, in its moſt enraged mood, to write in lemon juice; but, if thoſe

epiſtles, from a venerated nobleman to Lord Carliſle, be really the production of your own pen, they muſt ſurely have been the effort of malignant influence, and it muſt have been dipped, very deeply, in Mr. Grattan's gall.

The mode in which theſe letters was uſhered into the world, too, was not altogether handſome. Your *ex parte* ſtatement might have been with propriety communicated to your own friends; but certainly ought not to have poiſoned the public mind. This was unfair and ungenerous. Had your Lordſhip been properly adviſed, or had not the dignity of your nature deſerted you in your chagrin; you would have ſpurned at all attack or defence, but in your place in parliament. The repreſentative of a great ſovereign, although on the eve of laying aſide the delegated regalia, ought not to have deſcended to be his own pamphleteer. He ought not to have hawked about to the loweſt of his vice royal ſubjects, in different parts of the kingdom, written copies of his confidential letters; firſt to excite their curioſity and partial animadverſion, and then like thoſe manuſcript poems and pamphlets, that uſed to be handed about in the beginning of this century, to have them afterwards reluctantly publiſhed, in order, as was vainly alledged, to prevent ignorant bookſellers from iſſuing ſpurious editions: No, my Lord, your Lordſhip ought

ought not to have thus deſcended from your vice-royal ſtation.

With the attributes of majeſty adorning your natural conſequence, you ought not ſo far to have ſoiled the auguſt rank you poſſeſſed in Ireland, as to condeſcend to be the hawking retailer of your own juſtification, or your own calumnies. There, you ſhould have been every inch a King. Here, you ſhould have been ſilent as the grave, until you ſtated your own caſe at the foot of the throne; and then, if your Lordſhip had ſo choſen, you might have publiſhed it with dignity to the empire at large, in your proper ſtation, the Britiſh Houſe of Peers. But acting as you have done, you have inverted all order and propriety. Before you appealed to your Sovereign, you appealed to his ſubjects! And now you come forward, with a new edition, in parliament, reſpecting your own diſmiſſal; although our parliament has, in your caſe, no more buſineſs with the ſteps taken by the executive power, than the parliament of Ireland had with your diſmiſſals of Mr. Cooke or Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. Pitt having a true conſtitutional wiſh to preſerve the independence of the parliament of Ireland, ſaid, in oppoſition to Mr. Fox's motion—"Much "as it regarded Ireland, it was matter of ex-

" treme delicacy, how far an Engliſh houſe of com-
" mons ſhould take up the diſcuſſion which properly
" belonged to an Iriſh Legiſlature." But, now that the Iriſh houſe of commons, in direct contradiction to Mr. Grattan's aſſertion on the ſame day, have declared by a majority of more than three to one, that to take the ſtate of the nation into conſideration, when it alluded ſolely to your recal, and your meaſures, was, if not prepoſterous, at leaſt a ſilly waſte of time; I have no doubt but that the good ſenſe of both the houſes of our parliament will equally evince their wiſdom and independence.

Mr. Grattan, in the phrenzy of diſappointment on Tueſday ſe'ennight, affirmed that your Lordſhip's recal produced complete unanimity againſt Lord Camden's adminiſtration; yet, my Lord, this unaninity appears to be by no means general, as there were 158 to 48 againſt your prime miniſter's motion. If this be unanimity, it is an Hibernian ſort of unanimity, when three to one are found to be againſt him. Beſides, there is no doubt that the property of the country out of doors are of a ſimilar opinion to their repreſentatives within, if not in a much greater proportion. The Iriſh parliament are reſtored to their uſual good ſenſe; and are very juſtly alarmed at the delirium into which they were thrown by your Lordſhip's

Lordſhip's too officious friends, owing to their implicit reliance on your excellent moral character and good intentions. The deciſion of that day, is a pretty certain proof, that the warm heart of Ireland is not damped, as Mr. Grattan dared to aſſert. The misfortune of this dapper Dublin monarch is, that alternately looking into his own heart, and the applauſes of the deſigning few, and the miſguided or hireling many, he has the egregious vanity to imagine, that the great body of the people of Ireland feel ſore, becauſe *he* is chagrined. But the truth is, that the men of property there are neither to be ſeduced by his fawning ambition, nor intimidated by his declamatory threats. They will not bow to the opinion or the nod of any ſelf-created provincial monarch whatever; and will equally ſhun the chimeras of Harry Grattan, when he is wrong, as they would thoſe of that imperial ſovereign of the rabble, the illuſtrious Tom Paine.

It is ſurpriſing, that as your Lordſhip boaſts of having the glory of being objectionable to Mr. Pitt, which you roundly inform us that you knew on your firſt entering into office, I ſuppoſe as preſident of the council; why, in ſuch a caſe, ſhould a nobleman of your high ſpirit, ſubmit at all to the degradation of ever being elevated into the Viceroyſhip of Ireland, under his adminiſtration? You ſay in direct terms, that

that " the inſtant we had proclaimed our acceptance " of office, the ſcene began to open. Then it was *firſt* " diſcovered, that the object of all this mighty work " was not to ſtrengthen adminiſtration by an acceſſion " of character, but to debaſe, degrade, and diſgrace " that character." Again, you add, that " Mr. Pitt " did not wiſh for our aſſiſtance. But, knowing the " importance we gave to the ſyſtem then purſuing re- " lative to France, he ſnatched at the opportunity; " and made that the means of degrading our character, " and rendering us fit for no other ſervice, but to be " his vile tools and inſtruments."

As your Lordſhip has affirmed all this to be your ſolemn opinion, we cannot but give you ſufficient credit for your own implicit belief, thus knowingly to permit yourſelf to be debaſed, degraded, diſgraced, and rendered fit to become the tool of any man on earth. But, my Lord, from the ſlanderous incongruity of thoſe letters that are attributed to you, I think it impoſſible, that they could have flowed from your mild and benevolent pen. They are a groſs forgery upon the integrity of your heart, and the general tenor of your life. Either it muſt appear that they are not yours, or you muſt appear in a very different character to that you have ever ſuſtained. As for myſelf, I believe them to be an Olla Podrida of your own intemperate Iriſh friends. They wiſhed to give an edge to their own rancour, and a ſhield to their own miſcon-

duct, by fighting under cover of the almoſt impregnable battery of your Lordſhip's reputation. In proof of my opinion many reaſons could be adduced. For inſtance, you ſay to Lord Carliſle, who was undoubtedly one of your moſt reſpectable predeceſſors, that, " in your " days, they (two of the gentlemen you turned out,) " were clerks. In mine, I found them miniſters." Not to dwell now upon ſuch childiſh obſervations, Mr. Grattan ſaid, on Tueſday ſe'ennight in Parliament, that certain perſons, " were leſs than gentlemen and more than miniſters." He officiouſly explained to Mr. Corry yourLordſhip's memorable letters, as if he were certain and poſitive like an author with his own works, as to the dubiety of any and every paſſage. Indeed various other ſimilar expreſſions of your unfortunate ſupporters might be produced to ſhew, that however your Lordſhip might have ſanctioned thoſe letters, they moſt aſſuredly had their birth in the intoxicated and invenomed cabinet at the Caſtle. No one can entertain an idea, that your Lordſhip ever ſat croſs-legged upon a Taylor's ſhop board. But how can we account for your ſaying, " that a new office was *cabbaged*," otherwiſe than by remarking, that as Mr. Egan's ſpeech on Mr. Grattan's late motion, was full of metaphors from a Taylor's hell, and bulls about *hearing* what he could only *ſee*; it is but fair to ſuppoſe, that he had the honor of writing that part of your Lordſhip's ſecond letter, wherein the word *cabbage* was

was ſo elegantly introduced by the venerated noble-man.

But allowing, which it is almoſt impoſſible to allow, that your Lordſhip had ſuch a mean idea of the feelings of your friends, when you all joined with Mr. Pitt, as what the letter ſays, you yourſelf felt; you cannot by any one proof, my Lord, make the world conceive a thought ſo prepoſterous and humiliating. One gentleman might poſſibly have his doubts; another might perhaps be ſuſpicious for a moment. Let the author, or authors of the venerated noble-man's letters be allowed all this abſurdity. Even let the new made Catholic Biſhop himſelf be their chief author. But that an high ſpirited, honourable and penetrating few could imagine, that they were brought into office only to be diſgraced; and after harbouring ſuch an idea, remain in office, is abſolutely incomprehenſible to all honourable ſenſations. On the contrary, I firmly believe, in the words of Mr. Pelham, "that the Duke of Portland, and his friends, after "having long oppoſed Mr. Pitt, on principle, did, "on principle, at length ſupport him, and coaleſce "without any ſtipulations whatſoever. And, having "ſupported him like men, unconditionally; as the "circumſtances of the country became more preſſing, "they courted a ſhare in the reſponſibility of his "meaſures."

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Here we have a fair, honorable, and indiſpenſible reaſon for the union; but no hint from Mr. Pelham afterwards followed, that they either knew they were taken into office only to be diſgraced; or even that they had the ſlighteſt idea of ſuch baſe intention on the one part, and the more baſe conceſſion on the other! Such a degrading idea muſt have been the offspring of the maddened brain of ſome of your Iriſh cabinet; and ſtolen into thoſe letters attributed to your Lordſhip, in the moment of diſappointment and fury. It cannot be yours, and therefore you ought to diſclaim with indignation, thoſe two diſgraceful paſſages, and indeed the whole of both the letters, to ſave your hitherto ſpotleſs reputation.

It has been aſſerted that the Duke of Portland was inveſted with full powers as to the ſupreme government of Ireland, to reform all its abuſes. If this be true, ſurely, my Lord, as you were his beloved and confidential friend, as well as his deputy to carry all his plans into execution; every one that knows the high ſenſe of honor his Grace poſſeſſes, had your Lordſhip ſtrictly followed his inſtructions, he would never have been acceſſary to your recal, and at the ſame moment have retained his office. His Grace never united with Mr. Pitt to overturn that Gentleman's ſyſtem of Iriſh adminiſtration,

which has, in general, for theſe ten years paſt been ſo well managed; but, if poſſible, to ameliorate it, without hazarding the happy conſtitution of Ireland and its preſent proſperity. A proſperity which your Lordſhip owned, in your ſpeech from the throne, you found *eſtabliſhed* on your entering into the Viceroyſhip. "During the exiſtence of ſuch a war "as the preſent," you ſaid, "the public revenue, "together with the commerce of the kingdom, has "kept up and even augmented; advantages which "are due to the care and vigilance of our Sovereign, "in the general protection provided by him for all "his ſubjects." Again you ſay, ſpeaking of cultivating all the domeſtic advantages in commerce, manufactures, and ſuch public works as will tend to thoſe advantages—"that in all theſe, the endeavours of parliament have had their fruit. The "great ſtaple manufacture of this kingdom has encreaſed beyond the moſt ſanguine expectations, "an advantage principally owing to the conſtant "ſuperintendance and wiſe proviſions of the parliament of Ireland; and next to thoſe, to the "aſſured, liberal, and moſt merited encouragement "it receives in the rich and extenſive market of "Great Britain."

Great part of your Lordſhip's ſpeech contains a very proper eulogy on the wealthy and increaſing proſperity

proſperity of Ireland, owing to four great cauſes. The paternal attention of the Sovereign, the zeal of parliament, the wiſdom of the Britiſh cabinet, and the hearty concurrence of former Viceroys to act cordially and ſtrictly with ſuch cabinet.

But your Lordſhip's late prime miniſter, Mr. Grattan, diſclaims all power of the Britiſh cabinet over the government of Ireland. This is a very bold aſſertion, and is as illiberal and impolitic as it is improper. He ſaid on Tueſday ſee'nnight, "that "as to the Britiſh cabinet governing Ireland, he "could not accede to it. If the Viceroy's func- "tions were only to obey orders, and to be "the Engliſh agent in the kingdom of Ireland, "that ſuch a doctrine was fatal to monarchy in "this country." It is not the Britiſh cabinet alone that governs Great Britain or Ireland, but the King in council, ſitting in that cabinet. And if this mode of governing be fatal to monarchy, how is our Imperial Monarch to be ſaved; who, by the conſtitution, is ſuppoſed to take no ſtep whatever, without the advice and concurrence of ſuch cabinet or council? Whatever Mr. Grattan might intend by this doctrine, verging on diſloyalty, it is far from either being conſtitutional, or complimentary to his Majeſty as a limited Sovereign. It is only befitting an abſolute prince to hear, and his ſlave to

inculcate to his fellow ſlaves. Our king can do no wrong, becauſe he is ſuppoſed to do nothing of himſelf. But if he be to do every thing of himſelf, without the advice of his cabinet, and Ireland is only in that caſe to obey any, and every act of his will, when it proceeds from himſelf alone, all reſponſibility is deſtroyed, and its conſtitution muſt periſh!

But Mr. Grattan forgets that on the very ſame day he admits the power of the Britiſh Cabinet to govern Ireland; when, endeavouring to exculpate your Lordſhip, he ſays "that the part of the Britiſh Cabinet, "which was connected with Lord Fitzwilliam, ac-"cepted of office principally with a view to reform "the abuſes of the Iriſh government." And as throughout all his ſpeech, he *attempts* to ſhew, that your Lordſhip acted ſtrictly in concert or obedience to the Britiſh Cabinet; as he therefore in one place admits its power, and in another denies it, his bittereſt enemies can but ſay, that his conſtitutional loyalty is only doubtful, and not directly negative.

A plain man, my Lord, would imagine from the hyperbolic praiſes of your Dublin friends, that you were a guardian God—the tutelar deity of Ireland—that your predeceſſor, Lord Weſtmoreland, had impoveriſhed and enſlaved Ireland, inſtead of leaving it in the higheſt ſtate of proſperity ever known—that

when other countries ſuffered from a ſcarcity of proviſions, which prevailed almoſt univerſally, Ireland, through the medium of that nobleman and his counſellors, to the proviſion trade, was bleſſed with plenty; and the plans he then laid, keeps it ſtill in that happy ſtate—that when commercial credit was ſhaken to its baſe, that country ſcarce felt the ſhock, by the timely and effectual meaſures adopted by Lord Weſtmoreland, after the Britiſh miniſter's plan, to aſſiſt and ſupport it—that when the public peace was threatened by a body of men who arrogated to themſelves the name of volunteers Lord Weſtmoreland, by his ſpirit and firmneſs, diſperſed the horde, and preſerved the peace of the country—that when the Jacobine mock repreſentatives of the people aſſembled, and made attempts to ſpread fear and apprehenſion throughout the country, what did your predeceſſor? He awed ſedition into ſilence, by his ſpirited and conſtitutional exertions; and reſtored by a convention-act, which it is hoped will ever remain, the *confidence* and *tranquillity* of the country—that he ſecured the independence of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, by a place and penſion bill—that he alleviated the ſufferings of the poor, by a reduction of the hearth-money tax—that, to ſecure the peace and ſafety of the country, he eſtabliſhed a national militia—that he rendered the navigation act, both intelligible and ſerviceable to

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the merchant and to the artizan—that he made the reſtrictive laws againſt the Catholics flow, as they ſurely did, from the throne itſelf! as it was the benign dictates of your auguſt Sovereign to grant them. But, of late, Catholic indulgence ſeems to reſt on other grounds. The completion of that buſineſs has been artfully given to grace the reputation of a few individuals; and his Majeſty's name, and his gracious intention, as the original granter, has been entirely overlooked!

Theſe are but a few of the acts of Lord Weſtmoreland's adminiſtration. Yet, my Lord, the gentlemen, that ſupported him in all his patriotic ſchemes, were to be reviled and turned out of office, as the *enemies* of Ireland! How could that deluded nation, for one moment, bear the inſult? How could they ſtifle their good ſenſe, even by the arts of declamatory oratory, to look upon thoſe gentlemen as obnoxious characters, who were Ireland's beſt friends? How could your Lordſhip ſuffer yourſelf to be ſo miſled as to diſplace them who had ſo well ſerved their country? Was this to be the earneſt of your wiſdom, your virtue, or your juſtice? No, my Lord; it is not the Britiſh Cabinet, who have ruined your political fame, but the Cabinet of Ireland. Theſe inſatiate and malicious beings, that ſurrounded your delegated throne, have driven the Vice-royal diadem from your

your head, and diſturbed the harmony of that proſperous but duped kingdom.

But, my Lord, what is a lord-lieutenant of Ireland? Is he not an officer of the crown—under the miniſter, and conſequently one of the component parts of adminiſtration? Then why wantonly have turned out the zealous ſupporters of adminiſtration, to further miniſterial meaſures? But is not that ſtep, with Mr. Grattan's declaration on Tueſday ſe'ennight, that another of your meaſures was "to reſtrain the "growing and alarming influence of the crown over "the legiſlature!" indicating, that perhaps you meant to ſhake off all dependence on Mr. Pitt, to whom you have long gloried in being obnoxious; and entrench yourſelf faſt in the Iriſh government, that it would ſoon have been very difficult for adminiſtration to have recalled you at any future period. Shrewd people may imagine as much, although there may be but very ſlender grounds for ſuch a ſuppoſition.

Your great fault, indeed, appears to be, that inſtead of thinking you were a dependant branch of adminiſtration, like every other lord-lieutenant, you conſidered yourſelf as an independent miniſter, I had almoſt ſaid an independent Sovereign Prince. In the Viceroyſhip of Ireland, you imprudently conceived that

that you had as ſupreme a power as the miniſter of Great Britain. You did not conſider that you were only a great link in the great chain of policy. It was your Lordſhip's misfortune to imagine, that you were the very chain itſelf.—To that, and the folly of your friends, may you impute all the blunders of your ſhort-lived adminiſtration.

The Catholics at large, my Lord, wiſh not for more power than they now poſſeſs. It is only a few of their jacobin demagogues that are anxious for the honour of ſitting in parliament, that they may controul the proteſtant intereſt. It is the levelling ſpirit of intrigue, and not the pure ſpirit of patriotiſm, that is now loud for a total emancipation. As to your friend, Mr. Grattan, his new-born catholic zeal is very ſurpriſing—formerly he was a furious advocate for the proteſtant ſupremacy, and a violent enemy to all catholic indulgence, particularly in the elective or repreſentative franchiſe. Whether he has been *touched* by the Catholics for this proteſtant evil or not, it is difficult, perhaps, to aſcertain. But though Mr. Pelham has been candid enough to avow, that although "It was "not for him to ſay, that the meaſures of this or that "adminiſtration would be adopted by the preſent; "yet he would ſay, that whatever meaſures had been "determined on by that houſe, ſhould certainly have "his

"his hearty concurrence;" it is moſt earneſtly hoped, that the parliament of Ireland will be very cautious, at this moment, of granting extenſive powers to thoſe; whom Mr. Keogh has unwittingly informed us, as well as others of their leaders, in their anathemas againſt our preſent government, "that if the Catho-
"lics of Ireland are refuſed, at this time, it is the laſt
"they will ever *petition*—that they will not be re-
"fuſed in the proper place; as he thinks it im-
"poſſible the independent parliament of Ireland will
"ever ſubmit to the dictation of a *foreign* cabinet,
"&c."

Whether the Dublin orator borrowed the idea of Ireland not being controuled by the king in council here, from the patriotic ſilk-mercer; or the patriotic ſilk-mercer had it from Mr. Grattan, this doctrine well merits the attention of the parliament of Ireland, and the Britiſh cabinet; as well as the affected loyalty of ſome of the catholic leaders, who ſpeak treaſon againſt the conſtitution, in order to intimidate the legiſlature from withholding thoſe extravagant requeſts, which ambitious intrigue prompts them to demand; and which the preſbyterians of the north, and all the diſ-affected ſupport, that they may throw off every dictation of a foreign cabinet; for ſuch they have the modeſt aſſurance to ſtile the controul of the king in council.

Many people would have no objection, that at a proper time, a certain number of the Iriſh catholics, according to the proportionate extent of catholic-landed property, might ſit in parliament, to repreſent the population to which ſuch property belongs. But, if population and not property, is to be the conſequence of the repreſentative franchiſe, my Lord, in this new and very hazardous reform, as has been reported; the preſent conſtitution and the proteſtant aſcendancy will be ſoon deſtroyed, although Mr. Grattan may then be at the head of a majority of ſix or ſeven to two. For the danger would not then ſpring from the Tom Paines without, but from the Tom Paines within the walls of parliament. Be that as it may, my Lord, your imprudent zeal in catholic emancipation, can by no means be juſtified. Whether King Grattan or Cardinal Oſſory adviſed you to the meaſure, it was raſh, precipitate, and very impolitic. There is no doubt, that if the catholic leaders had not received broad hints, not indeed from your lordſhip, but perhaps from your over-zealous ſupporters, they would not have been ſo impatient with their petition. The kingdom had been raiſed to a degree of opulence and freedom unparallelled, and which was gradually increaſing, without the leaſt aid from catholic repreſentatives; and, ſurely, thoſe patriotic candidates might have patiently waited until you were properly ſeated in your viceroyal throne, before they had endeavoured

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to perſuade your coy prime miniſter to preſent their petition! Did Mr. Grattan know that it was reſolved in the cabinet, if it really was ſo reſolved, of which, I have ſome doubt, "That if the catholics ſhould appear "determined to ſtir the buſineſs, and bring it before "parliament, that you was to give it an handſome "ſupport on the part of government?" If he did, my Lord, might not his pride and zeal to ſnatch the agency out of the catholic committee, incite him either to give this hint to them, that they might come immediately forward under his banner? Or might not ſuch knowledge impel himſelf to bring it precipitately forward, that no one ſhould ouſt him out of ſuch an agency, as would enable him to hold the ſway over two or three millions of people? It is not unreaſonable to imagine, that he might have adopted one of theſe ſteps, totally unknown to you. If he had tried to *prevail* on that body to have ſtopped their petitions for a certain period, and not been jealous of the important agency himſelf, there can be but little doubt of his ſucceeding; as the immediate ſafety of the country by no means depended on his having both Houſes of Parliament filled with catholic repreſentatives. It was, beſides, your own immediate duty, my Lord, when you wrote to England, that "there was no time to be loſt" in acceding to the catholic petitions, to have waited until you had received peremptory orders to *comply* with the petitions, before you committed yourſelf on that buſineſs; inſtead of ſaying that you would acquieſce, if you

received no peremptory inſtructions to the contrary, in a given time. It was an affair of too great importance not to wait for *written* inſtructions. And many think you might have done ſo, without at all endangering the peace of the country, or even injuring your own reputation; which, as a politician, you have done, by your too great facility in acquieſcing to the views, perhaps, of your prime miniſter.

Although Mr. Ponſonby aſſerted, my Lord, that you had done nothing, *as he underſtood*, without the approbation of the Britiſh cabinet, and this aſſertion he would ſeal with his reputation; yet unfortunately the ſeal made but a very ſlight impreſſion on that houſe, if we may judge by the members that voted in favour of Mr. Grattan's motion.

Upon the moſt candid examination of your brief viceroyſhip, and the curious epiſtolary bantlings which are laid at your Lordſhip's door, there is much to condemn in point of indiſcretion; and little to applaud but good intention; if even good intention can be applauded, when not accompanied with meaſures that were either wiſe or prudent. Your Lordſhip muſt have found to your regret, that there is a wide difference between being lord-lieutenant of the Peterborough liberty, and that of the liberties of the Iriſh nation. Upon the ſubject of your letters, the

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public are really very much divided. Some divide the palm between Meſſrs. Grattan, Ponſonby, and the Holy Catholic Proteſtant Biſhop. But however Gentlemen may diſpute, as to the letters, they one and all ſing with the characters in Coeur de Leon, "What, from my Lord the Governor?" And they do not ſcruple to make your Lordſhip reſponſe, in alluſion to Mr. Grattan, "He ſent me "with the letter! he ſent me—I knew no better!" And then, in indignant doubt, they reply, "Oh, "ſhould it be *this* Governor!"

It is very well underſtood that Mr. Grattan wiſhes to be the petty Cromwell of Ireland over every Viceroy; and you have certainly been his gentle Fairfax. He, like you, my Lord, was very amiable. Sincere in his profeſſions, open in his conduct, diſintereſted in his views, but narrow in his genius. And although veſted with the ſupreme command, he acted but a ſecond and ſubordinate ſituation to Cromwell, the original, as you did to his miniature copy.

Your Lordſhip has been adviſed, I ſhould rather ſuppoſe, to throw a ſlur upon men in office, by ſneering to Lord Carliſle, "That in your days they were "clerks, in mine I found them miniſters." But inſtead of this being a ſlur, it is an honour. And happy would it have been for your Lordſhip, had you

been a clerk in the days of Lord Carliſle's viceroy-ſhip, that you might have known how to conduct yourſelf, as a miniſter, with propriety and ſucceſs.—Lord Camden too, for inſtance, has been lately ſtigmatized as a clerk, although now a miniſter. But happy it is for the country when ſuch promotions take place, from the length of various official ſervitude, and a certain routine, joined to rank, integrity, and talent: Unleſs, indeed, that there be ſuch a burſt of mind as makes no man complain, but every man admire. Is not this much better, my Lord, than gentlemen jumping at once into ſituations, for which neither experience nor genius has fitted them? Let us hear no more, therefore, of men being clerks in the days of Lord Carliſle, and miniſters in the days of Lord Fitzwilliam,

Every gentleman, that knows your Lordſhip's amiable character in private life, laments that any ſet of men ſhould have ſeduced you to lend your name, even to a *biſhop*, in order to ſlander your former friends. The ſlander would fall upon yourſelf, my Lord, were you not ſomewhat ſhielded from its ſhafts, by thoſe new friends, that have lately, and do now, continue to ſurround you. For flies will always cling around the body of the wounded deer!

It muſt be with the utmoſt grief, unmixed with any rancour, much leſs with indignation, that thoſe excellent men, compoſing the preſent miniſtry, muſt, to guard their own characters, firmly, but fairly oppoſe you on the Duke of Norfolk's motion. I ſincerely believe, that all the adminiſtration are heartily ſorry for your miſtakes, and would cordially forgive you, were it an injury done only to themſelves, in which the empire was not involved. But when you perſiſt in ſlurring their characters, and calling for an inveſtigation into an affair with which the legiſlature of this country has no more to do, than they had with your Lordſhip's Iriſh diſmiſſals; miniſters ought, certainly, in their own defence, to endeavour to prevent your ſpurred intemperance from wounding them, however they may tenderly forbear in return to wound your Lordſhip. Without being ſo rude as to aſk you, my Lord, whether or not you ever entertained the moſt diſtant idea of making up your mind, before you left England, to give an immediate compliance to the Catholics in all their threatening demands; what Mr. Ponſonby ſaid ironically, on Tueſday ſe'ennight, your Lordſhip may, with great truth, declare now to the Britiſh Cabinet:

" You recal me, and you do right. For I agree,
" that the men I entruſted to manage my affairs,
" were

" were precipitating me into meaſures contrary to your " wiſhes and my intentions."

As to the motions in both houſes here, there can be no doubt of the reſult. If the parliament of Ireland, whoſe immediate buſineſs it was to review your adminiſtration, and animadvert on your recal, ſpurned at a ſimilar motion; ſurely a federated, though no foreign legiſlature, will undoubtedly behave with, at leaſt, equal wiſdom; and leave your Lordſhip to ſorrow in ſilence, that your own integrity was not more ſtrongly ſupported by the political virtue of your choſen friends.

I ſhall now conclude, by remarking, without endeavouring to convey the leaſt inſinuation, either againſt your moral or your political rectitude; that may be fairly ſaid, my Lord, of your Iriſh miſtakes and impolitic precipitancy, that you,

——— " Dreſs'd in a little brief authority,
" Moſt ignorant of what you're moſt aſſur'd,
" Play'd ſuch fantaſtic tricks upon your throne,
" As made your friends all weep!"

A MEMBER OF THE WHIG CLUB.

BOND-STREET,
Thurſday, April,
29, 1795.

Poſtſcript.

SINCE I wrote the above, I have peruſed the Earl of Carliſle's Letter to your Lordſhip. In all the material paſſages, that nobleman coincides with me. I ſhall ſelect ſome of them to prove this.

Lord Carliſle ſays, "A general belief previailed "that, in your *final arangements*, and *concluding* "*converſation* with his Majeſty's miniſters, at which "*others aſſiſted*, it was *ſettled*, that *no* material mea- "ſure, either as to *perſons* or *things*, was to be "decided upon, without *further* communication "and *concurrence* with the Cabinet of England."

Again. "You are much miſtaken, if you think "that the world, endeavouring, with very ade- "quate means, to detect on which ſide the error "of miſapprehenſion lies, *even ſuppoſing it ſhould be* "*ſuſpected to be with you*, has ever aimed any cen- "ſure at your head, which made it neceſſary for "you to appear at the tribunal of the public, and "to open a defence, in my mind, *unprovoked* by "accuſation from any quarter, forcing you to "advance upon ſuch tender and delicate ground, "to points generally not conſidered acceſſible."

Again. "It was a general wiſh to *poſtpone* the "conſideration of the merits of the Roman Catho- "lic queſtion, to a moment better fitted for a leſs "interrupted inveſtigation of it. Of courſe, ex- "cepting otherwiſe driven by neceſſity, we ſhould "have ſeen you acting, at leaſt, in uniſon with the "views of the Engliſh Cabinet, had you termi- "nated the ſeſſion of parliament, with this point "ſtill reſerved for future conſideration.

"You, for the reaſons which you have aſſigned, "conceive, that neceſſity to be ſo apparent and "ſtrong, as to leave you, in policy and prudence, "no choice or remedy. *Upon this point, the whole "matter ſeems to hinge.* The public, turning towards "the Engliſh adminiſtration for explanation, diſcover "them *queſtioning that neceſſity*, which *you* conſider "as *irreſiſtible.*

"Great ſtreſs is laid upon the impoſſibility of "utterly preventing this diſcuſſion, from ſome quar- "ter or another, being *forced* upon the houſes of "parliament. That ſome one, eager in the cauſe, "*would* infallibly ſtir it, though Mr. Grattan had "held back, *was clearly to be foreſeen.*

"But, *in that caſe*, the argument for ſuſpending, as "might have been adopted by thoſe who were in-

" clined to fall in with the views of both the lord " lieutenant and the Engliſh miniſter. It did not " ſeem to follow, that, *on ſuch ground, a perſon ſo* " high in name and reputation *and ſo cloſely connected* " *with the caſtle, (as Mr. Grattan) was impelled to* " *ſeize that hour, for giving notice of his bill, ſuſtained* " *by government and its adherents.*"

You thus perceive, my Lord, that Lord Carliſle's opinion of Mr. Grattan, is not diſimilar to mine. The difference is, I aſſign probable reaſons. He chooſes not to aſſign any. And it would have been a very happy circumſtance for your Lordſhip's political fame, as well as the true proſperity of Ireland, had you waited for the peremptory *reſult* of the Britiſh Cabinet; wherein " it was *ſettled*, that no material " meaſure, either as to *perſons*, or *things*, was to " be decided upon, *without its* concurrence."

MAY 1.

FINIS,